## in the Cumulative Work of Art Art with History: The Role of Spolia

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poral eminence. phy that support the claim of glorious global and temdynastic ladders and a thematic and cultural stratigravivalist arts, its multicultural attestations may form gle group of forebears, which is often the case in re-As its frame of reference goes beyond allusion to a sinthat is presumed to have reached a culminating height. the work of art an art with history, a tangible history contributors to the meaning of the present. They make are visible witnesses of a rich past, yet they are also vital

press Livia.4 Indeed, it actually portrays a woman, the Roman emshaped in the round, but it presents feminine features. ample of first-century glyptic art and is convincingly precious lapis lazuli head is a beautifully carved exgemstone as the artistic equivalent of Christ's head. The made for this cross was east to accommodate a Roman ning spoil. The gilt bronze corpus of the crucified Christ logne Diocesan Museum (Figs. 1 and 2). It has a stunusually dated ca. 1036-1056, and housed in the Coview is the Herimann cross of the mid-eleventh century, this phenomenon from the group of objects under rea surprising number attempt it. A first illustration of Not every work achieves such fulsome eminence, but

1049.5 The donors of the work, clearly represented on Pope Leo IX, a member of the imperial family, in church of St. Maria im Kapitol, which was dedicated by intended for the Altar of the Cross in the Cologne Recent scholarship demonstrates that this object was

Jill Meredith, Debra Pincus, and Gregory Whittington. also by Judson Emetick, Dotothy Glass, Dale Kinney, Thomas Lyman,

Reich der Salier, 1024-1125, exhib. cac., Historischen Museum det Pfalz sen," in Rhein und Maas, vol. II, 181–190; M. Schulze-Dörlamm, in Das Goldkreuze und ihre Voraussetzungen in Rheinland und Niedersach-(Cologne 1973), 177-180; H. Westermann-Angerhausen, "Westralische serin Livia," in Rhein und Maas. Kunst und Kultur 800-1400, vol. II Wester, "Der Christuskopf vom Herimannkreuz-ein Bildnis der Kai-(Cologne 1985), vol. I, 134, 136, 157; vol. II, 27, 87, 207; U. Bracker-4 Ornamenta Ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik, exhib. cat.

note 4), vol. II, 167-177, esp. 167. 5 R. Wesenberg, "Das Herimannkreuz," in Rhein und Maas (as in (Sigmaringen 1992), 429-431.

> -interests that extend beyond Byzantium to a view of his scholatly interests in medieval art

и номов of Kutt Weitzmann and the wide pur-

nent parts, the present over its varied past. The spolia expressing a triumph of the whole over its own compoalthough a conglomerate, is also an artistic statement programmatic designs that indicate that the fusion, together in the matrix of the resultant new work in of the Ottonian eta. These remains, or spolia, are held facts which in sum represent the cultural foundations Metovingian, Catolingian, and/or earlier Ottonian arti-Christian, Byzantine, Fatimid, Frankish, Anglo-Saxon, made up of concrete remains of ancient Roman, Early sumed within it. The works of art are aggregates, being that earlier cultures, both pagan and Christian, are subhistory that is Christian but cumulative, in the sense studied here reveal a particular perception of history, a 980 to 1060.3 It will be argued that the works of art and function of a group of objects dating from about of Ottonian uses of spolia by considering the context such use.2 This paper examines the ideological aspect become increasingly attentive to the ideological bases of objects, has long been known, scholars have recently this period, particularly for any sacre or sacred liturgical tonian Germany 1 Although the use of spolia during the role of spolia in the Byzantine-influenced art of Otantine culture—this paper will speak to the question of ularly those that exhibited special sensitivity to Byznumber of Western centers of artistic enterprise, partic-

reprinced in Art in the Medieval West and Its Contacts with Byzantium tries from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century," DOP 20 (1966), 3-24, especially "Various Aspects of Byzantine Influence on the Latin Coun-<sup>1</sup> Among his many publications dealing with the Latin West, see

H. Mayt-Harring, Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study (Lon-Umfeld in Egberts Triet," ZKunng 50 (1987), 305-336. See also JWarb I (1937), 204-220; H. Westermann-Angerhausen, "Spolie und 2 W. Heckscher, "Relics of Pagan Anciquity in Medieval Sectings," (London 1982), no. I.

uity in the Middle Ages: Ancient Spoils and Medieval Art," with papers panel organized by William Tronzo, entitled "The Perception of Antiq-College Art Association annual meeting in Boston, 1987, as part of a 3 An earlier version of this paper was presented by the author at the don 1991), vol. I, 179-200.

dress, his court protocol, his residence, his sentiment—with the triumphal sway of Christianity is implied by the elegant image of Christ engraved on the reverse side of the cross. There a laurel wreath over Christ's head and the dove of the Holy Spirit form counterparts to the wreath and eagle of Augustus on the display side. That this cross was used in the Aachen coronation ritual helps explain why the image of the crucified Christ should be relegated to the back of the cross while the Soman and Carolingian rulers dominate the front.

abuts the base of the flask. Interestingly, this antique him. A large intaglio cut with a standing pagan god the Passion relics, while a pair of angels hovers above upward toward the chalicelike crystal flask containing a Byzantine posture of proskynesis. He extends his arms seems to fall to his knees in a gesture of prayer very like by the embossed inscription "heinric[us] I[m]p[erato]r," the reused repoussé figure of Emperor Henry, identified tween the two crystals (Fig. 5) has been handled so that relics of saints and martyrs. The goldsmith work besecond tock ctystal, a perfume flask, which contains make up the flanking repoussé reliefs. Below there is a tercessory figures of Peter, Paul, Cosmas, and Damian within, just visible through the veil of the crystal. In-The idea is enhanced by the red Byzantine textile graphic reference to the Church and its chief sacrament. often represented at the foot of Christ's Cross, an iconolocation that is suggestive in calling to mind the chalice neath the reused repoussé depiction of the Crucifixion, a visible from both sides. It is appropriately located besponge, and Cross), is inserted into the work so as to be flask, which contains relics of Christ's passion (blood, work and function as reliquaries. The central crystal Islamic court, they serve here as the centerpieces of the nally intended for personal, cosmetic use at a brilliant crystal. Although these small crystal flasks were origitures splendid examples of tenth-century Patimid rock taglios, some representing classical deities, and it feaspolia from earlier eras, including ancient Roman indate, ca. 1046-1056. The cross is fashioned around pretation. 10 I believe it to be mid-eleventh century in (Figs. 4-6) the use of spolia affords more complex inter-In the case of the Borghorst cross now in Münster

stone is set on its side like a toppled idol.

Confirmation that the positioning of Henry's gesture

9 G. Kornbluth, "The Seal of Lothar II: Model and Copy," Francia 17 (1990), 55–68.

10 J. L. Luckhardt, in Ornamenta Beclesiae (as in note 4), vol. III, 106–108; Westermann-Angerhausen, "Westfälische Goldkreuse" (as in note 4); H. Bickel, "Das Borghorst Stiftskreus," in 1000 Jahre Borghorst. Pestscript der Stadt Borghorst im Jahre der 1000 Wiederkehr der Gründung des Stiftes (Borghorst 1968), 45–55; M. Schulze-Dörlamm, in Das Reich der Stifte (as in note 4), 278–281; G. Jäszai, in Imagination des Unsichtbaren. 1200 Jahre bildende Kunst im Bistum Münster, exhib. cat. (Münster 1993), vol. II, 350–352.

must have atticulated well the high status of Herimann ciations. Upon the altar in Cologne, the associations temporary as well as the cumulative effect of these assowhole depending for its ultimate meaning on the conon the other, none limited to Rome alone, and the thus induces a whole range of references, one building which the lapis assures. This use of spolia in the cross through their German, so-called Roman, imperial line, mentation of the noble lineage of its former owners, antine art.7 Paramount must have been the gem's docuchurch, Mary, recalling examples of contemporary Byznots' attitudes of proskynesis before the patroness of the less Christ of Early Christian art; and, especially, the dothe crucified on the cross itself, suggesting the beardof Santa Sabina; the youthful, teminine, lapis face of the soon to be installed nattative doors, recalling those trefoil-plan church, recalling Early Christian triconchs; Maria im Kapitol altar: these include the surrounding up by the work and by its intended location on the St. references to Early Christian and Byzantine art conjured been vague in their minds, mingling as it does with century.6 Its reference to the Roman Livia must have the dissemination of the Ottonian treasury early in the Herimann and Ida as a family heirloom, perhaps with antine Theophano. The gem is thought to have come to man emperor Otto II and his empress, the famous Byz-Kapitol community—were grandchildren of the Germann II, and his sister, Ida, abbess of the St. Maria im the reverse (Fig. 2)—the archbishop of Cologne, Heri-

Such an accretive context of references is explicit in the well-known Lothar cross of ca. 1000, which is considered a gift of the emperor Octo III to Aachen Caforant (Fig. 3).8 Its fine goldsmith work surrounds a forman cameo of Augustus, an example of spolia of the first order. Also important, and also spolia in a sense, is the crystal below. It is a seal made for Octo's Carnete crystal below. It is a seal made for Octo's Carnete crystal below. It is a seal made for Octo's Carnete crystal below. It is a seal made for Octo's Carnete crystal below. It is a seal made for Octo's Carnete cross is named.9 With these two gems, dynastic lineage and authority for Octo as "Emperor of the Romans," reaching back through the accumulated phases of "Roman," history, including both ancient Roman and Catolingian eras, is visually certified. The association of the political hegemony of an Augustus-like Octo—Octo III was the most Roman of this dynasty, in his

6 D. Kötzsche, in Rhein und Maas (as in note 4), vol. I, B2, 197;
 Wesenberg, "Herimannkreuz" (as in note 5), 170–171, 175; R. Steinbach, "Die Ezzonen," in Das Erste Jahrausend: Kultur und Kunst im werdenden Abendland an Rhien und Ruhr, vol. II (Düsseldorf 1964), 858–859.
 7 Wesenberg, "Herimannkreuz" (as in note 5), 174–175.

<sup>8</sup> H. Schnitzler, Rheimische Schatzkammer (Düsseldorf 1957), no. 32, pls. 90–95; P. Lasko, Ars Sacra, 800–1200 (Harmondsworth 1972), 100–101; P. Schramm and F. Müthetich, Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser (Munich 1962), nos. 30, 106; H. Fillitz, "Ottonische Goldschmiedekunst," in Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen, exhib. cat., Diocesan Museum (Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen,

mulative and especially tangible in this work. about het diminutive form. History seems visibly cuvouched for by the inscription and by the clouds banked ent and her hoped-for eternal future, this last being Bertha's own local past at Borghorst, as well as her presin her form there would coalesce royal connections, of history culminating in the figure of the abbess. If so, intentionally present a multilayered, supratemporal view may speculate further that the cross's references may she surely did with her abbey's founder, Bertha, 11 We imply association with her forward, noble homonym as late whether Abbess Bertha, our donor, did not hope to as well. Although it is pure conjecture, we may specudown to us and may have been known to Abbess Bertha come to pass, word of such a bold maneuver has come ance against the Byzantines. Although this did not to the Fatimid caliph, El Muqtafi, suggesting an alli-Rome as a part of her overlordship, had sent overtures Tuscany, who was daughter of Lothar II and claimed sign of the work. An earlier Bertha, the margravine of via the opulent rock crystals that are focal in the de-

Byzantine—is that they are featured as fully as the origin-Fatimid(?), Anglo-Saxon, Metovingian, and made by these objects of ancient and different cultural Byzantine emperor Justinian. The interesting point half of the sixth century.13 It enframes a gold coin of the has recently been shown to be a Triet work of the second did garnet inlay, which was formerly called Frankish, panel are additional spolia. The circular brooch of splenscripts. The special incrustations of the narrow rear can be associated with early Echternach and Triet manu-They are of the Anglo-Saxon (Hiberno-Saxon) style that probably of late seventh- or early eighth-century date. on each of the long sides are reused gilt bronze lions, the pedestal of the foot. Against the central ivory panels ornament, perhaps a figured Fatimid rock crystal, atop ivory paneling. The whole was originally capped by an bined with cloisonné and champlevé enamels and elegant ing, opus interrasile, gold filigree, among others, comtechniques: gold repoussé, gilded silver, niello, engrav-Andrew, is a veritable compendium of goldsmithing and 8). 12 This shrine, encasing a part of the sandal of St. 983, and housed in the Trier Cathedral Treasure (Figs. 7 Andrew, made for Archbishop Egbert at Triet ca. 977history is well represented in the reliquary shrine of St. graphic analogue to the medieval concept of Christian The nature of Ottonian are sacra that provides such a

Goldschmiedekunst," Triever Zeitschrift 11 (1936), 144–166; A. von Euw and H. Westermann-Angethausen, in Rhein und Maas, vol. I (Cologne 1972), CI, 177; F. Ronig, in Schatzkunst Trier (Trier 1984), no. 23, see also nos. 6 and 12. For the engraving of 1655, which shows an ornament in place atop the foot, see Westermann-Angethausen, "Spolie und Umfeld,"

is intentionally calculated comes from the design on the reverse side of the cross. There, in an engraved and inscribed design, Bertha, donor of the work and abbess of the Borghorst convent, exactly echoes Henry's obeinsance. Placed between the two crystal reliquaties, she occupies the position on this side directly corresponding to Henry's opposite. According to the inscription, she petitions for salvation and requests the intercession of the saints whose relics are enclosed here. The fact that this Abbess Bertha bears the same name as the founder of her convent, Bertha, likens her to her illustrious predecessor in local Borghorst history even as her pose decessor in local Borghorst history even as her pose links her to her impetial analogue, Henry.

riched by the prestigious references to Fatimid culture i.e., Henry. This metaleptic chain is particularly enby the crystals; to the Ottonian and Salian emperors, kynesis poses, as well as the Patimid caliphs, signaled spheres of the Byzantines, via the textiles and the prosthe repoussé panels and the relics; through the wider his martyrs, Cosmas, Damian, and others, recalled in work of his followers, the apostles Peter and Paul and sion, recalled by his Crucifixion and his relics; and the recalled by the Roman gems; the time of Christ's Paslineage: it leads from the time of pagan imperial Rome, them Bertha manifested her importance within a long form of Bertha. Whatever their source, in employing and all of these lend important associative value to the may also be thought of as spolia, just as the crystals are, was the conceiver of the project. Of course the relics the emphasis upon Bertha as abbess suggests that she and come to Borghorst either via Henry III or Bertha, the spolia might have passed from Henry II to others can be placed in the mid-eleventh century. Although exact history is unknown but her tenure at the abbey and his dates coincide with those of Abbess Bettha. Het latter Henry was a great patron of the Borghorst abbey reference, in the time of Henry III (1046-1056). The most likely with the hope of an intentional equivocal unknown source and reused here by Abbess Bertha, ception. I believe that they were salvaged from another after its completion but were basic to its original conand that they were not added haphazardly to the work clear, however, that this cross was made to receive them all spolia from the time of Henry II (1014-1024). It is technique of the repoussé panels indicate that they are cross is still being debated. In my view the style and The question of which Henry is represented on the

11 K. J. Leyser, Medieval Germany and Its Neighbours 900–1250 (London 1982), 111–112. One might compare the conflation of Denis's at Saint-Denis; S. Crosby with P. Blum, The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis (New Haven 1987), 3–6.

12 Westermann-Angerhausen, "Spolie und Umfeld" (as in note 2), gives the earlier literature, including her own detailed dissertation, Die 56dathmitekarbeiten der Trierer Egbertwerkstatt (Beitheft, Trierer Zeitschrift 36 [1973]), (Trier 1973), 53ff., and the basic study of F. Radernachet, "Det Triere Egbertschrein. Seine Beziehungen zur fränkisch-karolingisches

ng. y. 13 B. Arrhenius, Merovingian Garnet Jewelry. Emergence and Social Implications (Stockholm 1985), 170–171.

space and space as space as sind space as by being visibly embedded within the present. The tolic past, the time of St. Andrew, is given immediacy is assimilated in it and superseded by it, yet the aposriched by its intimate association with the past, which Egbert's present is identified with Triet's and is enveys the idea of a cumulative historical tradition in Trier. Therefore the foot of Andrew is a work of art that conthrough Ottonian Christendom the scepter of St. Peter. to walk in their footsteps, and metaphorically carry charge was to carry on the mission of the apostles, peace and bring glad tidings of good things."13 Egbert's beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of Christ," recalling the words of Romans 10:15: "How Angerhausen has shown, called the apostles the "feet of out by Clement of Alexandria, who, as Westermanntolic origins. Egbert's mission was like that spelled quaries thus provide visible proofs of Trier's lofty aposstaff to Triet via their embassy. These innovative reli-

pe sixth-century Egyptian-Alexandrian-work 17 ducted, an Isis, and two warrior panels, all thought to two of the nude Bacchus, a nude Nereid being absent. The Aachen panels also represent pagan figures: of Saint-Denis, at which Charlemagne himselt was prehave been a Carolingian work made for the dedication cient mythological subjects; it is usually considered to scribed by Abbot Suger as having ivory panels with an-These ivories recall the lost pulpit at Saint-Denis, dethe word, flanked by six ivory panels arranged in pairs. a crux gemmata as the focal center of the four writers of vives. The original plan for the work was, as at present, ners of the ambo's composition, one elegant piece suroriginally represented the four evangelists in the corace chapel (Fig. 9), 16 Of the repoussé panels, which of Henry II, ca. 1002, still preserved in the Aachen palspolia in the service of political aims is seen in the ambo A final and particularly arresting demonstration of together.

these references are aesthetically and tangibly linked

Particularly striking are the vessels of semiprecious stone that make up the dominant central cross of the design. The three bowls constituting the vertical axis are Roman. <sup>18</sup> The two extraordinary objects making up the extended arms of this "Greek cross," a cup and its saucer in Fatimid rock crystal set against the smail brun background panels, <sup>19</sup> are Islamic. Following Buchkremet,

trans., Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St. Denis and Its Art Treasures (Princeton 1946), 73; K. Erdmann, "Islamische Bergkristallatheiten,"

18 Doberet, "Studien zu dem Ambo" (as in note 16).

19 C. J. Lamm, Mittelatterliche Glaeser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Naben Osten Gerlin 1930), vol. J. 68; K. Erdmann, "Die Bergkristallatien der Islamischen Abteilung," Berliner Museen 63 (1942), 7–10; diem, "Fatimid Rock Crystals," Oriental Art 3 (1951), 142–146; idem, "Die Fatimidischen Bergkristallkannen," in Wandlungen christlicher Kunst im Mittelatter (PorschKA 2) (Baden-Baden 1953), 189–205; H. R. Hahn-

builds on their frames of reference to broaden the range sense that it combines the art of several cultures and elements. 14 The work as a whole is thus cumulative in the Fatimid(?), Anglo-Saxon, Merovingian, and Byzantine signed specifically to incorporate these special earlier made de novo for Egbert, but that he had the shrine detion of its facture, revealed not only that the work was mantling, which allowed a thorough technical examina-St. Andrew. Study of the entire shrine during a disindicates that the work is dedicated to the honor of of Peter, and especially Andrew's sandal. The short text Egbert to contain relics of the apostles, including some of the altat tells us that the shrine was commissioned by The prominent longer inscription around the perimeter the ancient milleflori panel of the shorter inscription. spolia from ancient Rome, chiefly small intaglios and

the Trier founders to St. Peter. According to legend, the objectives. The Staff of Peter reliquary strongly links shrine, all Egbert's commissions, enmeshed with these Nail, and the Staff of Peter along with the Andrew ation of the "speaking reliquaries" of Trier, the Holy ples of St. Peter himself, date from this time. The crechurch, Eucharius, Valerius, and Maternus, were discihistory. Texts vouching that the founders of the Triet vival of emphasis upon the apostolic phase of Trier's stances. He found support for his aspirations in the reliturgical equipment after a period of reduced circumprovide his Trier cathedral with appropriately splendid logne bishop, Bruno. Egbert's objectives were also to privileges, during the episcopacy of the powerful Cowas a role it had lost to Cologne, along with other papal tance as the first cathedral of the Ottonian realm. This agenda was to restore Triet to its formet level of imporappointed bishop of Trier in 977, Egbert's political Angerhausen has brilliantly shown that when he was spolia acting as intermediaries. Hiltrud Westermannand St. Andrew, could find validation through the associations. His spiritual lineage, as heir to St. Peter foot adumbrates Egbert's own ambitions for apostolic making Andrew seem manifestly present. Further, the the sandal actually preserved within the coffer, thus repoussé foot and enhanced by the gems that simulate is evoked by the extraordinary naturalism of the gold Within the program, the apostolic age is featured. It of the reliquary's programmatic impact.

founders were sent to Triet by Peter, who conveyed his

<sup>14</sup> Rademacher, "Trierer Egbertschrein" (as in note 12).

<sup>15</sup> Westermann-Angerhausen, "Spolie" (as in note 2), 313–319, 16 E. Doberer, "Studien zu dem Ambo Kaiser Heinrichs II. zu Aachen," in Karolingische und Ottonische Kunst (ForschKA 3) (Wiesbaden 1957), 308–359; H. Fillitz, "Das Bvangelistenrelief vom Ambo Heinricus II. im Aachener Münster," ibid., 360–367; idem, "Ottonische Goldschmiedekunst" (as in note 8), 185–187; Schramm and Mütherich, Goldschmiedekunst" (as in note 8), 185–187; Schramm and Mütherich,

Denkmale (as in note 8), no. 137.

17 H. Stein, "The Ivories on the Ambo of the Cathedral of Aix-laChapelle," Connoisseur 153 (July, 1963), 166–171; B. Panofsky, ed. and

further explanation is in order. and indicates a taste neither awkward nor ostentatious, which in every case is designed specifically for the spolia the exquisite quality of the Ottonian workmanship, ites must have required, and particularly considering these patrons and the heavy expenditures these compos-Onsidering the awesome resources at the disposal of too blatant, however, for this explanation to suffice. troduced into these sacral monuments by the spolia is that idea. The clash of cultural and religious values in-

The ambo was placed on axis with the altar of Mary the wide sway of influence implied by their presence. throned sovereign opposite to contemplate, as would form of the cross would have been pleasant for an en-Christianization of their paganism by their collective ambo well across the chapel. The "apotropaicization" or timid vessels would have carried the cross theme of the sanctuary.22 The sheen of these huge Roman and Facused sight lines for all viewers looking toward the of the palace chapel (Fig. 10) where it would have fostood originally at the entrance to the Carolingian choir According to Doberer, Henry's ambo would have

tember 1002.23 Doberer considers the ambo commisformal ritual, in the Aachen palace chapel, on 8 Sepinsistence on a second coronation as king, with full secure his authority as king are surely reflected in his it. Within a few months he succeeded. His efforts to and he worked energetically to broaden and consolidate June of 1002. His support was still very weak, however, side, he hastily had himself crowned king at Mainz in who then preferred his rival. Winning Willigis to his desperately needed later in his claim for kingship, but with the powerful princely bishops whose support he as Duke of Bavaria, Henry had engendered differences pendence from episcopal authority during his tenure faced. Also, in his attempts to further monastic indesuccession of Orto III, directed at his family line, resurcontested. Resentment that had risen at the time of the to a coup d'etat. Henry's presumption was vigorously cousin Henry quickly seized power in what amounted ary, 1002. In the confusion following his demise, his ing. Otto III, who was childless, died suddenly in Janu-Otto III's death, the ambo's spolia take on special mean-Henry's struggle to succeed to the throne following might call a symbolic political program. If we recall just behind it and surely linked with it in what we and with the tombs of Charlemagne and Otto III, both

of the original locations of the ambo, altar, and tombs. fig. 142 (reproduced here as Fig. 10), showing Doberer's reconstruction 22 Doberet, "Studien zu den Ambo" (as in note 16), fig. 145; W.B.

tion at Aachen and the ceremonial transfer to Henry of the Holy Lance, sacral kingship through the use of symbolic ritual, including the corona-(Vienna 1946), 2, 13-15. For the enhancement of the conception of 2), vol. I, 193-196; H. L. Mikoletzky, Kaiser Heinrich II. und die Kirche 1991), 186-187; Mayr-Harting, Ottonian Book Illumination (as in note 23 Ibid., 355; T. Reuter, Germany in the Early Middle Ages (London

> title, "REX," to be highlighted in gold. reversed in the inscription, allowing Henry's name and nence. Also, the émail brun technique is interestingly with the name of the Virgin gives them special promiplacement of these words directly above and on axis PIUS HEINRICUS," the pious King Henry II. The of his possessions for this commission, is named "REX the work to the Virgin. The donor, who gave personally tions referring to these gems and to the dedication of unusual size and value. Above and below are inscripprized treasures. The agate bowls would have been of ancient pieces of art, which must have been highly wood core reveals that the ambo was made for these Brika Doberer's intensive study of the ambo and its

By stressing the cumulative character of these works, tars like the Portatile of Henry (1014-1024) in Munich. analogous to book covers, stautotheks, and portable alshape strengthens the simple cruciform design, which is dish of just the kind we see there at present. Its domical the wood core, which was hollowed to accept a circular of the original mount and by analysis of the carving of the ambo, 20 but that conjecture is disproved by traces Mütherich thought that this was the original scheme of the Trier Gospels). Percy Schramm and Florentine surrounded by the four writers of the Gospels (as in we might expect a bust of Christ, in a clipeus, say, ginal borders. In the ambo a Roman bowl is used where the overall scheme and are not simply tucked into marorific mission. Indeed the spolia are focal elements of tions within the artistic design that conveys their honreligious function. They are assigned privileged posithey are used to honor art having a particularly serious not exclusively Roman in character and origin, and that ambo the spolia are ancient works, mostly pagan but As with the Andrew shrine, we observe that in the

Ottonian families as heirlooms, would seem to support timid and Byzantine courts, and passed through the voys and embassies, exchanges of gifts from both Fapieces came from an imperial Byzantine treasure via encratic ostentation. The possibility that a number of the though those circles were not completely above aristoart, certainly envied) in Ottonian court circles, and even were all highly prized (and, with regard to Byzantine cient Rome, Coptic Alexandria, and Fatimid Egypt rials and techniques, even though the exotic arts of anserendipitous accumulations of varied sumptuous mate-I do not mean to imply that they are simply pastiches,

Farimiden," ZDMG 89 (1935), 329-362. ZBildK 64 (1930-31), 199-205, 216-221; P. Kahle, "Die Schätze der II, 287-296; W. Holzhausen, "Bergkristallarbeiten des Mittelalters," Kristallschliffs an Rhein und Maas," in Rhein und Maas (as in note 4), vol. loser, "Theophilus Presbyter und die Inkunabeln des mittelalterlichen

N.F., 9/10 (1958-59), 15-31. in det Schatzkammer der Münchner Residenz," Münchner Jarbrbücher, 21 Ibid., no. 134; H. Fillitz, "Das Kreuzreliquiar Kaiser Heinrichs II. 20 Schramm and Mütherich, Denkmale (as in note 8), no. 137.

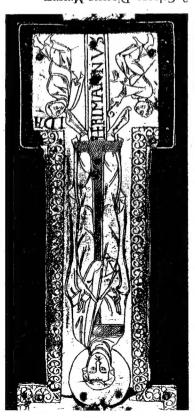
statement of the Ottonian fulfillment of the concept of a cumulative and culminating Christian history, conceived not so much as a renovatio as a culminatio, was a worthy rival to similar Byzantine pretensions. The Byzantines' own use of spolia is of course renowned. <sup>24</sup> The Ottonian difference is in the breadth of the range of reference. Later periods also make use of the symbolic and programmatic possibilities of spolia but rarely do they evoke such broad and deep strata of history.

The University of Michigan

24 The Treasury of San Marco, Venice, ed. D. Buckton, exhib. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Att (Milan 1984), passim.

sioned for that occasion. With its prominent inscription, "REX PIUS HEINRICUS," with its extravagant Roman spolis, with its crystals suggesting broad realms of noble connection, and with its location adjacent to the tombs of his illustrious predecessors, the emperors Charlemagne and Otto III, the ambo must have trumpeted well Henry's presumed dynastic legitimacy. He could well then aspire to empire. He received the imperial crown in Rome twelve years later, in 1014. In a more general sense the ambo gave visible expression to the general sense the ambo gave visible expression to the assection of contemporary Ottonian Christendom over Roman, Alexandrian, and Fatimid forebears. Indeed, this

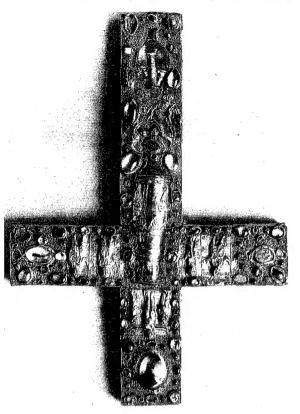
see K. Leyser, Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society (London 1979), 78-82, 94-97, 99-101.



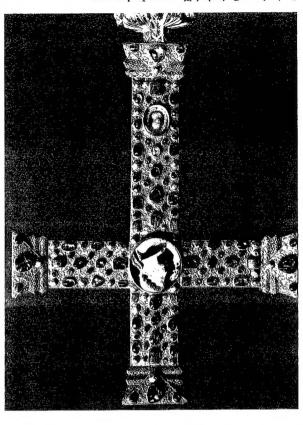
2. Cologne, Diocesan Museum, Herimann cross, detail of the back



1. Cologne, Diocesan Museum, Herimann cross

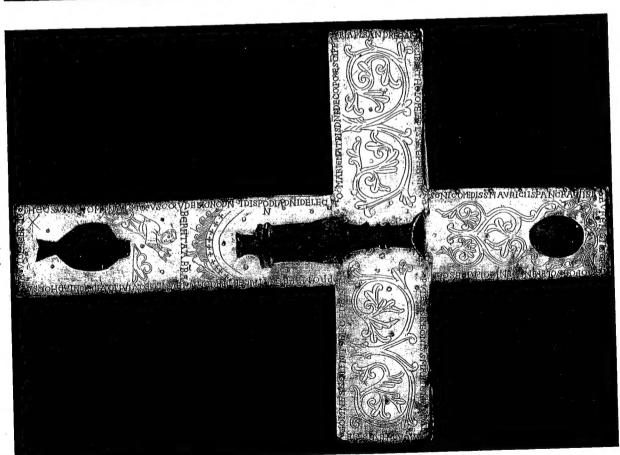


4. Münster, Landesmuseum, Botghorst cross

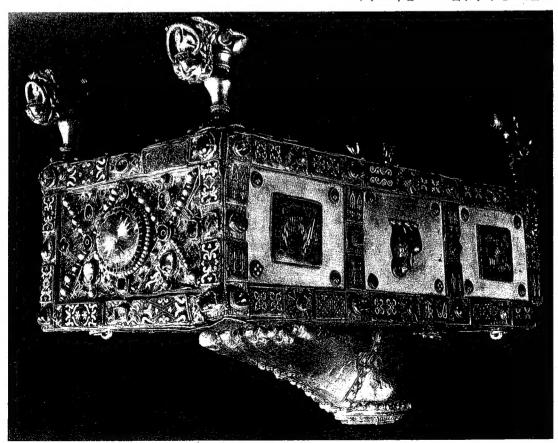


3. Aachen, Cathedral Treasure, Lothar cross

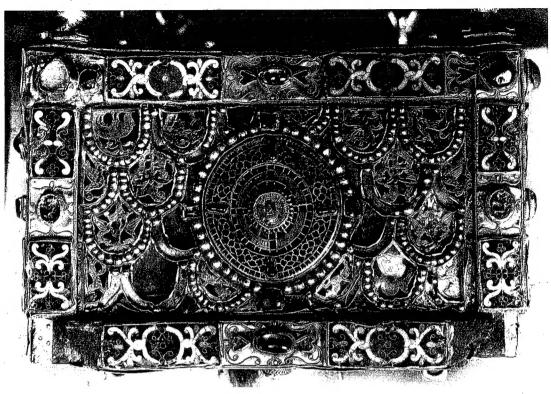




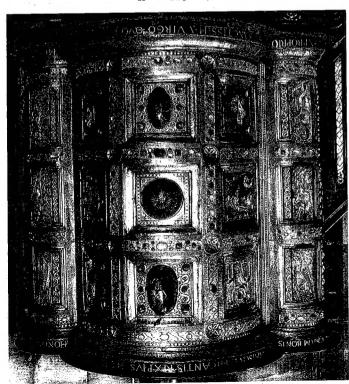
6. Münster, Landesmuseum, Borghorst cross, back



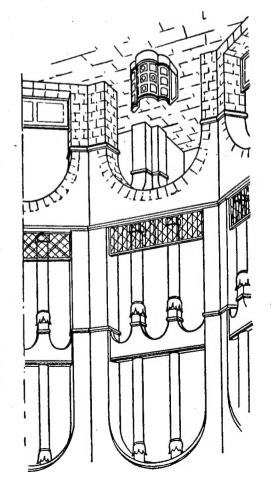
7. Trier, Cathedral Treasure, Egbert shrine



8. Trier, Cathedral Treasure, Egbert shrine, derail



9. Aachen, palace chapel, ambo of Henry II



- 1. Marienaltar
- 2. Grab Ottos III.
- 3. Ambo Heinrichs II.
- 4. Thron Karls des Großen in der Oberkirche

— — А, а) Sdлгапкеп паdл Виснккемек

B) Hypothetische Variante von A



10. Aachen, palace chapel, ambo of Henry II, reconstruction showing original location within the chapel